the PLOUGH

TOWARDS AN IRISH WORKERS REPUBLIC

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LINK THE STRUGGLE NORTH AND SOUTH

AD.

Defend Dillon and Morrissey

WHENEVER THE PRIVILEGES OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS ARE THREATENED, IT WILL RETALIATE WITH REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION. IRELAND IS NO EXCEPTION.

A CONSTITUTION WHICH GUARANTEES FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND OTHER "HUMAN RIGHTS" WILL FORGET THESE LIBERAL PRETENSIONS WHEN FACED WITH THOSE WHO OPPOSE THE SYSTEM.

JOE DILLON AND SEAN MORRISSEY HAVE PLEDGED THEMSELVES TO A 32 COUNTY WORKERS REPUBLIC, FOR THIS THEY HAVE BEEN CONTINUALLY HARASSED AND INTIMIDATED BY THE SPECIAL BRANCH AND NOW CHARGED WITH THE MURDER OF GARDA FALLON. IN THIS TIME OF CRISIS THE STATE WILL NOT STOP AT TWO. IT WILL ONLY FEEL SECURE WHEN ALL SOCIALIST REPUBLICANS ARE BEHIND BARS.

THE RELEASE OF DILLON AND MORRISSEY WILL BE A VICTORY FOR THE WORKING CLASS.

PEOPLE WISHING TO ASSIST IN THEIR DEFENCE CAMPAIGN (POSTERING, COLLECTIONS, ETC.) SHOULD CONTACT THE SECRETARY, 5 PARNELL ROAD, HAROLDS CROSS, DUBLIN 12.

For too long the struggle against British imperialism has been confined to the North. The incidents in Ballyshannon where Gardai and Free State Troops were used to break up demonstrating crowds after three IRA volunteers were arrested gives an opportunity to develop the fight on a 32 county basis. The lessons of Ballyshannon must be assimilated quicly: Fianna Fail, the Unionist Party, and the Tories, despite episodic differences in the last analysis represent the same interests. British capital. The legitimate struggle of the Northern Catholic minority threatens British imperialism and as that **struggle intensifies these three forces** will draw together and work more closely.

Fianna Fail

The people of Ballyshannon have torn the republican mask of Fianna Fail and exposed the face of British imperialism. This new face has emerged not merely because the traditional spirit of Fianna Fail is dying, as Kevin Boland and his friends would have it, but because of profound economic and social changes.

Fianna Fail has existed for many years as a coalition of various interests: the small or national employers, the small farmers, and the rural and urban workers. Most of Fianna Fail's support came from these three sections and it was towards these three sections that initially its policies were directed. On coming to power the new party initiated a three pronged attack designed to consolidate its base. Firstly in the interests of the national employers (which was its main concern) it adopted a protective policy to shelter weak industry from foreign take-overs and competition. Secondly as a sop to the small farmers it liquidated the land annuities to Britain (which amounted to £112,000,000) and fought a protracted economic war toward this end. And finally to placate the workers it began a major clean up of the city slums and offered various social securities. In this period De Valera could still evoke the name of Connolly and the respectable press could in turn condemn the 'Jacobin' policies of 'Ireland's Lenin'.

What has happened to change Fianna Fail's role so radically? The answer is that its policy of protection failed miserably. This was officially recognised in the 50's with the repeal of the Manufactures Act. Then after its return to power in 1959 it launched the First Programme for Economic expansion. Thus Fianna Fail embarked on a new policy of direct collaboration with British imperialism. This economic programme was an open admission that Irish industry could not expand from its own resources and would have to depend on capital injections from Britain. Thus from 1959 to 1969 more than 80% of the £109,000,000 invested in Irish industry came from Britain.

These new developments not unnaturally precipated a break up of the class coalition upon which Fianna Fail was founded. The new comprador elements under Lemass and his lieutenants Lynch and Colley gained the upper-hand. It is easy to see how under this new leadership the unity of the party would eventually collapse The comprador faction could progress only through collaboration with British imperialism, which meant the elimination of the small employers, as is happen . under the Free Trade Agreement, a running down of the rural sector and vicious exploitation of the labour force. Not suprisingly the class contradictions within Fianna Fail suddenly sharpened and the first major crack in the monolith appeared after the 'Arms Trial' with the Aontacht Eireann split. The process of disintegration is by no means over and it is no secret that Haughey, far from capitulating to Lynch, is quietly gathering his forces and preparing for an assault at the most opportune moment (which may be soon).

The above outline we hope explains the scab role which Fianna Fail is playing in the present Northern crisis. We also hope that it serves as a warning against any illusions in Boland, Blaney or Haughey—they are, when all is said and done, only a chip off the old block.

How to Develop the Struggle

As it stands, the struggle in the North is in a political cul-de-sac. The two sections of the community have been polarised and although the pleas for unity and reconciliation continue their hollowness is becoming more apparent. Obviously this slogan as it has been put forward today has had little effect and certainly the tactics flowing from it have had a retarding influence.

The Northern statelet grew out of the direct exploitation and oppression of the catholic population, and the Protestant toilers, rural and urban have always existed as a privileged layer. This exploitation and privilege has been given a systematic and cohesive form by the Orange Order which holds state power though the Unionist Party. Not until this oppression and privilege is ended, and not until the Orange Order and the Unionist state which institutionalises their-oppression and privilege are smashed. Will it be possible to break the protestant workers from its reactionary ideology and support for British imperialism.

This leaves the revolutionary vanguard of the catholic minority in a dilemma. Obviously the limited forces of the catholic minority, heroic though they are, are inadequate for the task of smashing the Orange State machine. The only way to overcome this dilemma is to broaden the struggle and take in the south as well.

The Possibility for Struggle in the South

The incidents in Ballyshannon show that this perspective is not utopian. In fact a proper evaluation of the situation shows that it is the only reasonable perspective.

Economic developments since the Second World War, the emergence of comprador capitalism in the South and the decline of traditional heavy industry in the North has sent the employers and their political agents scurrying cap in hand to Westminster seeking closer unity. The 'Federal Solution', which is now in vogue, is British Imperialism's answer and indeed a very acceptable answer as far as Southern capitalism is concerned. The longer the struggle in the North continues, the further away the 'Federal Solution' remains, the more difficulties Southern industry faces. Southern capitalism under the guidance of Fianna Fail has therefore a vested interest in a quick imperialist victory in the North and will seek to aid such a victory, not merely through patrolling the border, but more concretely by introducing internment or at least highly repressive legislation in the South. Such a policy will undoubtedly unleash a degree of anti-imperialist sentiment in the Free State (as it indeed has already done), and if this opportunity is seized, progress can be made.

The major element in a programme for the National struggle as far as we (in *The Plough*) are concerned, therefore, must be: SMASH STORMONT. LINK THE STRUGGLE NORTH AND SOUTH. From this all our other slogans and demands will flow.

JOIN THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS

contact us at:

58 NORTH GREAT CHARLES ST. DUBLIN

(inquiries from the North will be dealt with at the above address)

THE NORTH: THE SHADOWS & THE SUBSTANCE

As November, 1971, drew to a close, several moves were made that seemed to anticipate a reunification of the Irish people. Mr Harold Wilson produced his 15 points. Dr. Ian Paisley announced himself prepared to recognise the possibility of a 32 County Republic (and, by omission, to recognise the possibility of his remaining in it.) Finally, the government of the Republic broke its silence and moved to report its British opposite number to the Court of Human Rights for its "ill-treatment" (not, of course, "brutality") of internees. And, over the week-end, the IRA (Kevin St.) showed that it was alive and well, and bombing in Belfast.

What does this show? Is Irish unity within imperialism now any more possible after two years of a campaign designed subjectively to achieve this? Is there any chance of a "federal solution" to the Irish question being imposed? If these questions are to be answered in the affirmative, it is necessary once again for Marxists to reconsider their perspectives for the future of the national struggle.

First of all, it must be said that the federal solution is the ideal of British imperialism. The trouble is that its zeal outruns its discretion. British troops are in Northern Ireland because the Imperial Government cannot repeal the Act of 1920 & 1949, not as a prelude to it doing so.

This is shown visibly in the Wilson proposals: the 15 points: one more than the celebrated World War One Inventory of the man's American namesake, and just as surely doomed to failure. Their over-riding significance can be summarized in two facts. They express the good intentions of British imperialism: What it would like to do. (Thus, there is one reason for Heath's relatively benevolent welcome for them). Secondly, they are made by a man who is out of office and likely to be so for at least 3 more years. Their obvious weakness is shown in their first (& keystone) demand: for the cessation of violence (no prizes for guessing whose violence). Even Brendan Corish can't take that! Release of internees will wait upon this. Of course, the British troops will remain for 15 years until reunification is an accomplished fact.

But, even granting a military victory for the British Army, the whole plan depends on an hypothesis. It assumes the strengthening of the economy of the British Isles to an extent that the Irish social welfare services can be raised to equal those of the United Kingdom. This seems an Utopian basis for any scheme. Moreover, Mr. Wilson's own record as "economic wizard" does not lead to a belief in his talents as sooth-sayer. It is unlikely that the extended quarter-century economic boom will be restored. Furthermore, Ireland's entry to the E.E.C. will mean that Wilson's intended British subsidies will have to be greater than they would under present circumstances. On the other hand, Ireland may not join the E.E.C. In such a case the probable subsidies may still have to be increased, but, also, they will be a weakening of the **economic** unity which is a necessary foundation for Wilson's intended **political** unity.

Thus, the 15 points are not worth the breath that all parties in Northern Ireland have wasted denouncing them. They even are less worth the breath used in the critical support expressed by the parties in the Republic.

More interesting is the attitude expressed by Dr. Paisley. This has impressed, at least, the Gardiner Place Sinn Fein. In one of its increasingly frequent attempts to persuade people that it has never been a Republican organisation this body calls for the I.C.T.U. to organise the maintenance of law and order. Dr. Paisley is against the E.E.C., it remarks; this expresses the views of the Protestant workers and gives us a basis for inter-denominational unity.

Once again, it is necessary to point out the facts of the situation. In the first place, mere opposition to the E.E.C. is not a bill of clean health for Socialists. The view that it is so has led the Communist Party of Great Britain to march on demonstrations with the National Front. The basis for the Democratic Unionist opposition to entry is more like that of the latter body than that of the former. Secondly, the whole of the Doctor's present radicalism is a bit too vague and too new to be sincere. He is violent against landlords, but his political loyalty to the Protestant workers did not extend to opposing the Industrial Relations Act against which they struck. It is all too conceivable that he is preparing his image so that his seizure of power, when it comes, does not disturb too many in Great Britain. It is worth remembering that Paisleyism has no alternative to the Common Market. It is well worth remembering too, that Hitler did not take power by a coup but as being the one man likely to command a **democratic** majority in the Reichstag.

The statemanlike quality of the Doctor's remarks on unity are in keeping with this diagnosis. Now he hints at reunification on a non-sectarian basis. But it is just at this time that the Irish bourgeoisie, critically frightened by internal and external crises, are retreating behind the Bishops' skirts. As for Paisley's denunciation of the 1937 Constitution, it is doubtful whether he would accept that of Saorstat Eireann. Political partition of Ireland dates to 1920 not 1937.

But one thing must be said for Paisley, he does not claim **national** self-determination for his flock.

Of the other two events of the week, there is little to be said. The appeal to the Court of Human Rights is a probably meaningless gesture designed to avoid being upstaged in meaningless gestures by Fine Gael. The campaign of the week-end may be Kevin Street's "last stand," as Faulkner claims, but, on the past form of Irish Republicanism, this seems unlikely.

All in all, the situation remains the same and it remains the duty of Irish revolutionaries to mobilize the workers politically north and south. Whether this is done, initially, to back the struggle for national unification or for a more specifically working-class aim is immaterial. What is important is that the national revolution must grow over into the Socialist Revolution. The Permanent Revolution remains on the agenda.

McArt.

FRAME UP

Last year 22 workers were killed while doing their job. According to the Report of the Factory Inspectorate for that year most of thesedeaths occurred due to the criminal negligence of employers. A further 2,370 workers were maimed and mutilated during the same 12 months. Yet only 130 employers were brought before the courts by the Inspectorate. Of these 30 had the cases against them dismissed without further ado, and fines totalling no more than £600 were imposed on the remaining hundred. A bit of mathematical deduction will show you that the Irish State considers the life of an ordinary worker to be valued at about £6!

The developments which occurred when Garda Richard Fallon was killed in the Arran Quay Bank raid must therefore have caused some confusion in the minds of many ordinary workers. Here was a man, as the Minister for Justice said, who was killed in the course of his daily work. But instead of the whole affair being brushed under the carpet as would have happened with any other worker, it was blown up across the television screen and the newspapers front pages. Ministers, Bishops, and high ranking officials made many solemn statements of sympathy, condemnation and outrage. This time the government had no intention of imposing a mere £6 fine, leaving the culprit to continue an obscure existence. On the contrary, a £10,000 reward was offered and every sea and airport was closed down in an attempt to apprehend those responsible. Systematic searching and questionning with a few assaults, beatings, and a few threats of revenge were the order of the day. Verbose editorials, articles, and open letters abounded. To cap it all, a state funeral was added as an extra propaganda stunt.

What made the death of Garda Fallon so different from the cruel deaths imposed on some 22 other workers? How come that their memories are condemned to obscurity while the name of Garda Fallon is continuously evoked by "all right minded people"? The secret of the matter is that Garda Fallon died defending **private property** and more important still, in suppressing the struggle of the revolutionaries in the North. Make no mistake about it, without the funds expropriated from the southern government the fight in the North could not have gone for as long as it has, or at the pace that it has, without the help of the money and arms supplied by The Free State government and the Irish employers who are bound hand and foot by British capital realise this and are determined to smash Saor Eire. Before Arran Quay they had already attempted, successfully at that, to frame some Saor Eire militants. The case of Joe Dillon who is now charged with the murder of Fallon is a case in point. In 1967 Dillon was arrested on an armed robbery charge nearly a year after the alleged offense had occurred. The Special Branch offered him money if he would inform and when he told them where to stick their money they vowed to crush him. He was put on identity parade, but not one of the witnesses identified him. Nonetheless, the cops kept him in custody and after about six months brought him to trial. The only evidence they had against him was a thumb print. However, this was of dubious value since **only 14 points** of it bore resemblence to Dillons thumb prints. It should be remembered that Scotland Yard demand a minimum of **21 points** before they use fingerprints evidence. Nonetheless, Judge O'Keefeabrother-in-law of Sean Lemass and a right bastard, gave Dillon **6 years**. But even he had to admit that perhaps the evidence was not conclusive!

There can be little doubt that the State is out to smash Saor Eire and they have seized on the Aran Quay raid to do just this. To date their efforts in this respect have been frustrated. Already they have failed to frame Frank Keane,not withstanding the fantastic witch hunt they mounted in the mass media. In fact, their case was greatly damaged in this episode by the obvious perjury of some of the police witnesses.

Having failed, they are now turning their efforts towards Morrissey and Dillon, two well-known Socialist-Republicans who have never shirked their duty to the revolutionary cause. Again they are using the same compromised scum to frame these two revolutionaries! There is no end to the stupidity of the Police and their hatred for Saor Eire.

The Young Socialists call for the defence of Morrissey and Dillon in the name of the struggle against capitalism and British imperialism, all those who are interested should send funds to the Defence Campaign, care of the Young Socialists.

Markin

EDITORIAL:

TRIBUTE TO PETER GRAHAM

Despite the gigantic progress in technique and production the world remains as barbarous as if man still worked with flint and stone. The barbarity of unemployment, homelessness, poor wages and low living standards still scourges society. Today the world is scarred, as ever before by wars of privilege and plunder. Millions of pounds are wasted on armaments while millions of starving workers and peasants perish. And the powerful advances in science and industry have served not to further the progress of civilisation but on the contrary, to intensify the exploitation and oppression of the greater part of humanity.

In a society where production is carried on socially but where the rewards are reaped by private individuals, every advance is but a new twist in its own death agony. Peter Graham, who came from a working class home, but who was a highly qualified technician saw the madness of this contradiction. He readily dedicated his life to resolving this irrationality. He pledged his life to the future of mankind because like every true revolutionary the future was worth more to him than the present sacrifices.

The death of Peter Graham was a cruel and tragic blow to the Young Socialists. His tireless work and political guidance was invaluable to our organisation, especially in our more youthful days. By the strength of his reasoning and the example of his personal courage he planted the seeds of revolutionary politics deep among us. The credit for any contribution we in the Y.S. can make to the struggle for socialism in Ireland will go largely to Comrade Graham.

Why, one might ask was an individual, driven by such conviction that he disregarded his own well-being and placed himself in such danger? If you cannot see the answer it is only because you have never opened your eyes.

Look around!

His commitment began with his support for the Labour Party. He soon outgrew this and became a member of the Communist Party. Here his revolutionary views were unwelcomed and he was quickly "dropped". Then he joined the Irish Workers Group. He began to develop more politically taking a serious interest for the first time in economics philosophy and history. When the Irish Workers Group split, Peter helped found a nominally Trotskyist Group the League for a Workers Republic.

He soon discovered that some of his associates while revolutionary in words, stood full square in opposition to Trotskyism in practice, particularly on the international and national questions. Finally, after putting up a bitter fight in face of criticism and ignorance he left for London to organise a defence campaign for Frank Keane, a leading fighter against British imperialism, then being framed on a murder charge. While in London, Cde Graham joined the International Marxist Group and the Fourth International. When the opportunity to lay the foundations of an Irish Section of the Fourth International arose, Peter returned immediately. Back in Dublin he rejoined the Young Socialists and was an important driving force in organising a Trotskyist faction which rapidly won the overwhelming support of the Dublin regional area and the sympathy of other branches around the country. He had indeed tremendously enhanced the possibility of organising a revolutionary marxist organisation before he was lost to us.

Theory

But Cde Graham's qualities were not only or even primarily of an organisational and administrative nature. He was first and foremost a thinker. He read widely in Marxism and went back further to its very roots. Only a short time before his assassination he had begun a study of the German philosopher Hegel from whom Marx learned much. He did not suffer from the inferiority complex common among so many workers and petty bourgeois elements who imagine that economics, and philosophy is only for intellectuals and professors. The workers being a subject class possessed nothing but their ability to think. If it is the only weapon at their disposal in their fight for a new society, and Cde Graham saw the necessity to develop this weapon to its sharpest edge. Many "activists"

PETER GRAHAM —1946-1971—

(as they like to call themselves) on the revolutionary left were surprised to learn the circumstances of Peter's death. They never understood that for a revolutionary Marxist theory is only a guide to action though an essential guide. They were amazed to find this young militant who was so dedicated to theory had done more in his short life for the cause of socialism than the rest of them put together. We in the Young Socialists fully realise that we can become worthy inheritors of Cde Graham's heroic legacy only if we live up to his example in this respect.

The Fourth International

Intimately linked with his pursuit of knowledge was Cde Graham's tireless efforts to build the Fourth International. Internationalism to him was not an abstract idea. Because he was a real revolutionary involved in the actual struggle he could not have done his work effectively without the solidarity and support of his international comrades. It is all right for those "activists" who engage themselves in what is really only reformist activity to talk endlessly about "internationalism" but for revolutionaries locked in life and death struggle, internationalism must be practiced. Thus, Cde Graham quickly grasped the need for Irish revolutionaries to integrate themselves with the world revolutionary movement. Today the only means of doing this is through the Fourth International Many former associates of Cde Graham who are only observers and not active participants in the struggle, were because of this unable to understand his reasons for forming the Fourth International. Naturally they have all eventually either shifted significantly to the right or degenerated into helpless philistines.

The lesson to be learned from Cde Graham's brand of internationalism is that without the Fourth International, revolutionary theory and practice is in the long run impossible. The fate of numerous sectarians who split from the Fourth International is bitter proof of this. The Healy-Lambert grouping whose treachery in the revolutionary struggles in Cuba, Algeria France, and indeed Ireland affords a particular example. Others who are bent on following the same path could learn a lot from Cde Graham.

The National Question

Because Cde Graham's internationalism flowed naturally from his revolutionary instincts it had nothing in common with the bland cosmopolitanism now thriving in the labour movement. For Marxists internationalism means that a nation which oppresses another nation can never itself be free. The fate of the workers in the metropolitan countries is determined by the fate of the workers in the oppressed and exploited colonies. This and not a childish rejection of national differences is the source of workers' internationalism. Accordingly Peter Graham saw it as his duty to the entire world proletariat to struggle for Irish freedom, for the unification of the country and the defeat of British imperialists.

Due to this he has been denounced by some impotent sectarians as betraying the struggle of the working class. Needless to say this accusation was rejected out of hand. The division of the country and its domination by British interests has seriously retarded the growth of the Irish economy and consequently, the strength of the working class. Generation after generation of Irish workers have been subject to emigration unemployment, low wages, and in general a tired existence. In Ireland the solution to the national question is very much a part of the workers struggle and the fight for socialism. Those who ignore or underestimate the importance of the national struggle do so from a reformist stance and as such, are as far removed from Marxism as mere nationalist is.

Stemming from Cde Graham's approach to the national question was his attitude to the Republican Movement. He categorically denied the general possibility of purely nationalist movements defeating imperialism in this epoch. However, this does not mean that the struggle of the Republican Movement is entirely fruitless. In as far as this struggle helps to defeat British imperialism it must be supported and not by words alone. Moreover, any revolutionary attempting to construct a Marxist party must recognise the fact that a large portion of the most class conscious workers are organised in the Republican Movement.

These two factors combine to condition Cde Graham's attitude to the Republican Movement. It was he, who taught us that the rank and file could be broken from the reformist and Stalinist leadership (1) by proving our worth, and (2) by scientific criticism. Anything other than active participation in the struggle and scientific criticism, could only hinder and disrupt the attack against British Imperialism. It would be a sad day if Irish Trotskyists brought shame on the revolutionary traditions of the Fourth International by such actions. We challenge anyone, in the name of Cde Graham to show a shred of "capitulation" to republicanism or "Catholic bourgeois nationalism".

The Revolutionary Party

Cde Graham's position on the national question sheds interesting light on his efforts to construct a determined nucleus of revolutionaries who would eventually lay the foundations of a mass revolutionary party arises out of the uneven development of working class consciousness. The working class, as most workers know from their own experience, is highly fragmented by virtue of its relationship to the means of production. Before the class can be welded into a solid force to oppose capitalism this fragmentation must be overcome. Under no circumstances can this be achieved on the basis of the economic or day to day struggle which is itself firmly conditioned by this very fragmentation.

The consciousness and interests of the working class in general, can only be unified and evened out by means of a scientific programme which sums up the whole experience of the class and relates this to its historical tasks. Furthermore, the nature of this programme means that while it takes into account the economic struggle it is placed squarely in the political arena, the sphere where all class interests meet and the only sphere in which it can be hoped to develop the consciousness of the workers generally and to a scientific level. Thus, Cde Graham was all the more a revolutionary when he gave up his shop-steward position in the ETU and involved himself more actively in the direct political, (and what is only an extension of this), and military struggle against British imperialism.

Such a programme as said above implies an organisation of revolutionaries to translate it into concrete reality. Revolutionaries who join the organisation accept this programme and consequently a strict central discipline without injustice to anyone is possible. Thus, Cde Graham did not make an all too common mistake of fetishising organisational structures in his efforts as Irish representative of the Fourth International, he was determined not to create a caricature of a Bolshevik Party geared with all the familiar trappings of a mass party, from a central committee to various layers of membership, as he was all too accustomed to when he was a member of the LWR.

Conclusion

Perhaps the reader may think that this is a rather unorthodox type of obituary, more of a political statement than anything else. And the reader is probably right. The death of a courageous and devoted revolutionary may occasion a sense of loss and sadness but never pessimism and despair. Cde Graham knew the risks involved and now that he has been called upon to face the consequences there can be no time for recrimination. Of course, his cowardly assassins cannot escape the hand of revolutionary justice for much longer and will pay dearly for this crime against the Irish Revolution. But the revolutionary road, we reaffirm, remains as ever the only road.

This is in the spirit of Peter Graham himself and in the best tradition which he has bequeathed us. In a book written by Leon Trotsky, that undaunted revolutionary two years before he himself was brutally murdered, Cde Graham underlined the following lines: "The hangmen think in their obtruseness and cynicism that it is possible to frighten us. They err! Under blows we become stronger . . . It is possible to kill individual soldiers of our army but not to frighten them. Friends, we shall repeat again . . . **IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO FRIGHTEN US**".

These lines carefully noted by Cde Graham give a revealing insight into his character. Though he was by no means a sentimentalist, he could not refrain from marking out those words which so eloquently capture the fighting spirit of Trotskyism. Truly, the Young Socialists can say of Peter Graham as the only revolutionary ballad says of the Fenians—"We may have as good, but we'll never have better".

At the start of the War of Independence, De Valera laid down his edict, "Labour must wait"; i.e. that labour must subordinate its class interests to the nationalist struggle.

Throughout most of the war, labour waited.

Below, Rayner Lysaght describes the month when this class alliance fell assunder.

The truce of 12th July, 1921 ended effectively the Irish War of Independence. It began, too, a determined counter-offensive by the Irish employers against the gains made by their workers in the previous five years.

The link was notco-incidental. From 1920 onwards there was world-wide reaction in which the bosses set about crushing their workers. In Ireland, this reaction took the political form of the Tan War and the Belfast pogroms. But, though the latter was effective in weakening the trade unions in the north-east of the island, the Black & Tans could only contain the advance of Labour; they could not reverse it. The continuing survival of the volunteers made it impossible for direct militarism to be imposed. The British Government's military advisers informed it that the Republic could not be defeated by force of arms in less than a year. Such a long drawn out solution was unsatisfactory to British capitalism for both economic and political reasons. So the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George sought an agreement with Dail Eireann. As the Dail feared the choice between military defeat and working-class mobilisation that the 'Tan War was forcing on it, it accepted the Truce. Ever since then, in fact, Dail Eireann has been the instrument of the capitalist 'democratic dictatorship' in 26 counties of Ireland.

The Irish employers recognised this immediately. Even under the Black & Tans they had attempted policies that led to clashes with their workers, as had occurred, most notably, at Arigna (see Young Socialist, August 1971). As the end of the War approached, various employers began to act with new vigour. On the 24th of June the owners of 15 to 16 Dublin stores called for wage cuts.

With the actual truce, the employers initiated the class war. The position of the workers was weakened by the British Government's repeal of the legislation controlling the railways and the conditions of work "enjoyed" by agricultural labourers.

But the first actual clash came in the engineering trades (other than shipbuilding). Here the bosses were encouraged by the success of their counterparts across the Channel. In Britain on the 30th June, after several previous draft agreements had been defeated by the workers, the Federation of the Engineering & Shipbuilding Trades made a new deal withthe Engineering & National Employers' Federation. By this, the increase in wages (6/- per week: 15% piecework) that the former had gained for its members in March, 1920, was to be removed in two stages: on 15th July and 15th August. On 13th July, this was passed by the engineers by 175,000 votes to 109,000.

Most of the engineering employers in the Irish Republic were affiliated to the E.N.E.F. and were eager to enforce similar cuts on their workers. But these latter did not accept the authority of the F.E.S.T. and were prepared to fight, arguing Ireland's high cost of living. The E.N.E.F. refused its Irish affiliates the power to make any separate agreement. Accordingly, on 30th July, the Irish engineers, including 700 in Dublin, struck work to preserve the status quo. There was no question of demanding more; the operation was conceived to hold what was possessed.

Almost immediately afterwards, there come the Annual Meeting of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress. At it, a 9 point programme was proclaimed, but no new machinery was created to organise a strategy to implement it, and proposals to this end were sidetracked by the platform.

But, despite this, working class military was soon being shown in revolutionary forms. An early move was made at Charleville, a town which had enjoyed a general strike every year from 1918. On 13th August, at the local co-operative creamery, Christopher Foley led out workers organised in the I.T.G.W.U. in a lightning strike. This action was to strengthen the demand for a closed shop for the I.T.G.W.U.; two employees were not organised therein. Michael Motherway, the Chairman of the local Rural District Council proposed arbitration. This was rejected by the creamery's Committee of Management.

The next day, the strikers seized the creamery and ordered out the manager and the 2 scabs who had kept it working.

But they did not immediately work the place. Instead, they dismantled the machinery and closed down the premises. This may not have been relative conservatism; the creamery was owned by its suppliers so that to close down the place rather than to take their milk was the way to hurt the bosses.

The dispute continued until 20th August, when the committee of management agreed finally to refer it to arbitration. On the 23rd the relevant tribunal ordered the creamery to employ only members of the I. T.G.W.U. and criticised the committee for having refused to negotiate. It criticesed Foley, also, for the suddenness of his action, but he had won his case.

Charleville was merely the first of a series of similar, and, mainly, more radical, actions that showed how far the leaders of Irish Labour were behind their followers.

The next took place at the Mills and Bakery at Bruree, C. Limerick, a plant owned by Messrs. Cleeve. In the history of this event one is handicapped by the superfluity of conflicting stories. Certainly the dispute began in November 1920, when what were numbered respectively as 4 (by one of their comrades), 1 bachelor (by the company) and 2 (by the Cork Examiner) employees were sacked. In February, 1921, the I.T.G.W.U., the sacked men's Union, called for the latters' reinstatement and for payment of full wages (£70 in all) for the 14 weeks in which they had been laid off. The company refused, but, the next mon according to itself, it reinstated the one man involved.

Despite the Company's self-satisfaction, on Friday evening, 26th August the employees in the mills and the bakery occupied these plants. They were led in this by the local I.T.G.W.U. organisers, Sean Dowling and Sean McGrath. Both of these had led the workers in a similar fight against Messrs. Cleeve in May 1920, when they helped organize the occupation of the Knocklong creamery owned by the company's subsidiary, the Condensed Milk Company of Ireland. In the new fight, only the Manager, the Chief Clerk and an assistant to the latter stood aloof.

Another organiser of the I.T.G.W.U., Patrick Doherty, was appointed Manager of the new, Soviet concern. With the mill the workers took over £4,500 worth of condensed milk (from the neighbouring factory) and over 20 tons of flour & feeding-stuffs. The Red Flag was hoisted over the buildings and, above their entrance, was placed a placard: **"BRUREE SOVIET WORKERS' MILLS, WE MAKE BREAD, NOT PROFITS"**. A more detailed proclamation declared:- "Bruree Mills and Bakery are now the property of the workers. The Mill and Shop are open for the sale of bread, flour and meal. It is hoped to reduce prices and do away with profiteering within a day—By Order of the Workers".

The Soviet was as good as its word. The 2lb loaf of bread, sold elsewhere at 8d was marked down to 7d. Coal's general price per cwt. was 4/10d-4/8d: at Bruce, 3/8d. Flour was cut from 38/6d to 36/6d per ½ sack: indian meal, from 37/- to 35/-: pollard from 14/- to 13/-; linseed meal, from 27/- to 25/- per cwt., flake meal from 28/6d to 27/- and barley meal from 18/- to 16/-. Not surprisingly, sales rose by nearly 100%, and the Soviet declared its intention to hire more hands, on account of the increasing demand. It also raised wages and salaries all round by 7/6d per week. It claimed too, that output rose to meet the demand.

The Irish Independent described the villagers of Bruree as regarding the affair "with an element of unconcerned humour, not unmixed with amazement."

In Britain, the Home Office declared it to be the result of Moscow propaganda.

The reaction of Constance Marcievicz, returned to the Dail Department of Labour after months in British jails, does not seem to have been qualitatively different. According to Patrick O'Connor (in a subsequent issue of the *Voice of Labour*), she summoned the Soviet leaders to Dublin. Certainly negotiations were proceeding at Liberty Hall, before the end of the month. And, on 2nd September, the dispute was settled, "amicably", according to the Unionist, *Cork Constitution;* according to O'Connor, only after Marcievicz had threatened to send the Volunteers to eject the Soviet if its members did not leave, peacefully. On 3rd September, the Mills were returned to Messrs. Cleeve, "under normal conditions."

But, by then, another dispute was approaching Soviet proportions in Cork on 14th March 1920, the dominant Sinn Fein–I.T.G.W.U. coalition on Cork Corporation had had a motion passed that set up a Commission into the Cost of Living in the city. At the end of September, it reported estimating that a "living wage" in Cork was 60/- per week– rather more than most workers received at the time. On 12th February 1921 the Corporation ratified this statement.

Immediately, the harbour workers raised a claim for the recommended living wage (an increase of 7/6d per week in what they got). Under the pressure of the claims of unity against Britain, this was allowed to lapse until the Truce. The harbour Board stated that the individual 7/6d per week wage increase would be too expensive for it as years of war had reduced its efficiency.

At a meeting of the Board in August one of its members Councillor Robert Day, the Secretary of the Cork Branch of the I.T.G.W.U., proposed that the matter be referred to arbitration. He could not get a seconder, although the Chairman, F.J. Daly expressed sympathy. On 25th August, he repeated his defeat to the Cork & District Trade Union & Labour Council which nominated a delegation to see the Borad on the matter. It failed too.

From 12.30 p.m. the next day, apart from the docks of the City of Cork Steampacket Co. & the Clyde Co., the port of Cork was strikebound. This situation was intensified further because the dockers were supported by the river pilots (those pilots responsible for working sea traffic between Cork & Queenstown, now Cobh) and by a sympathetic strike of 4 Queenstown dockers.

Five steamers were held up in Cork harbour. At Cork Quay, there were four colliers, two the *Start Point* and the *Ivy Porth*, with pit wood cargoes, and two the *Star* and the *Foy*, with ballast. At Marina mills, a grain steamer, the *Carrigan Head*, was held forcibly; the pilot was detained ashore, and the mate was prevented from lashing the ropes. The Bantory Bay Steamship Company's coastal vessel, the S.S. *Princess Beara*, loaded with a general cargo for Castletown Bere, was more successful; it cut its wire houser and reached the sea without a pilot. At Queenstown, there were detained two cargo steamers: the S.S. *Erlesborough*, with a cargo of maize from the Argentine, and, outside the harbour entrance, the Anglo-American oil-tanker the *Elswick*.

On Friday, 2nd September, at 2.30 p.m., 150 strikers marched in a body behind the Red Flag to the office of the Harbour Board to be paid off. On receiving their money, they placed another Red Flag over the office, before continuing a march, behind the banner, through the city.

Later, the I.T.G.W.U. announced that it would distribute permits to ships for their pilotage from its Cork H.O. The next day a meeting of strikers voted against granting any such documents. It seems to have been then that Day (possibly inspired by the news of the Bruree talks) proposed and got carried his motion to take over the harbour office.

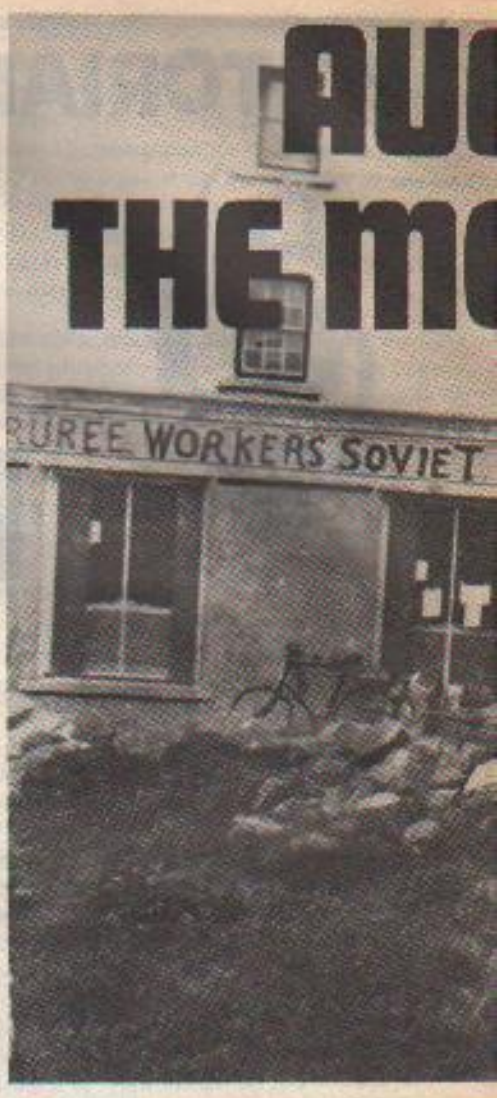
Meanwhile, in desperation, the *Star* followed the example of the *Princess Beara*, cut its houser and got away to sea without a pilot.

On 5th September, both the Cork daily papers were encouraging panic against the strikers. The *Cork Examiner* warned lest the shipping lines boycotted the harbour. The *Cork Constitution* warned lest the merchants of the city do the same.

Nonetheless, the strikers refused, once it to let the *Start Point* and the *Ivy Porth* either leave or unload timber at the North Channel. Instead, they placed pickets on them.

Sir James Long, the Secretary to the Harbour Board, was worried enough to call a special meeting of the Board at 1 p.m. on that day to discuss the strike.

Standing Orders were suspended to discuss a motion of Alderman Liam de Roiste, T. D., that the strike be arbitrated, under the direction of the Dail Department of Labour by a committee com-



posed of representatives of the Board, the workers and the Dail.

This proposal (and, indeed the suspension of Standing Orders to discuss it) were opposed from two contrasting quarters. One was Sir John Scott, the Leader of the Unionists of the Cork Corporation. He had already objected to the Board's assembling under the Red Flag. Now he denounced any compromise with the strikers who were, he said, kept out only by intimidation.

Day had opposed motion and suspension from his own standpoint. Now he made it clear to the Board. He denied Scott's statement and declared that the workers were ready to take over the full funaing of the port, that they would be able to obtain their 70/- per week thereby, and that they would improve efficiency, weeding out the incompetent ruthlessly. He declared that the proposed, belated offer had come too late. He had put the motion for a takeover. The mechanics were willing to serve under the Soviets. Now he offered the clerks a similar share in it. The Red Flag would be taken down only at the cost of "10, 20—aye, 100 lives. If the Irish Republican Government can put me out of office tomorrow, they can do it. But they have to count the cost".

De Roiste was conciliatory. He pleaded the Tan War and Martial Law as the excuse for the harbour's inefficiency. He declared himself ready to offer control of it to the I.T.G.W.U.—but only under the proper forms. He ended by emphasising Dail Eireann's capitalism; it recognised the right to strike, but it was determined to protect property.

The Board voted in favour of de Roiste's motion. It also appealed to the Cork Executive of the I.T.G.W.U. to accept it (and thus, to restrain Robert Day).

The Cork Executive announced its full support for its District Secretary. Long locked away all the Harbour Offices' books and documents in preparation for the takeover. All that happened as a result of the Board's offer was that, the next day, September 6th, the *Cork Constitution* denounced it, in leader column for its "abdication" of its responsibilities.

On the same day as this appeared, at 10.30 a.m. a crowd of workers proceeded to the Harbour's Offices to take charge. Day led in a group of three composed of himself, Thomas Coyle, and William Kenneally, the Chairman of the Cork Branch of the I.T.G.W.U. They asked Long to serve under workers' control. When he refused, he was replaced by Day as "Chief Commissioner of the Port of Cork", with Kenneally as "Second Commissioner" and Coyle as "General Steward".

Kenneally made a circuit of those of the harbour staff that had not yet been consulted as to the seizure. It was accepted by the Harbour Master, Captain Blanchard, the Assistant Engineer, the caretaker and the telephonists. The office staff was less favourable. In the department of the Accountant and the Dues Collector, a slight majority of the employees denied the

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liquidity of the Soviet and refused to work in it. They were allowed to leave peacefully.

Having won what support could be won in the Cork offices, Kenneally, Coyle and Thomas Murphy took a launch (flying the Red Flag) to Queenstown to take over the harbour there.

But the office workers' lack of solidarity, added to the locking away of the Harbour Office books, were handicaps to the Soviet's power. Nevertheless, its Commissioners asserted their readiness to collect the harbour dues. Day announced that ships would move to and from the harbour only with his permission. He set about his business promptly, giving an entrance permit to the *Elswick* and exit permits to several of the ships that had been waiting to leave. Against over-enthusiastic workers who wished to use the offices for their own private ends (because they were now, common property) he insisted on the building's function and privacy being respected.

Once immediate business had been settled, the Commissioners held a press conference. Here Konneally announced his readiness to assert the authority of the workers even against that of Dail Eireann. Day was more moderate. He declared that the Soviet had taken the greatest pains to have avoided involving anyone other than the harbour workers, and pointed out that the cross-channel shipping and carrying companies were operating as usual.

But the Harbour Board was looking for a means to regain control, even by a tactical retreat. It was supported by the Secretary of Dail Eireann's Department of Labour. At 11.30 a.m., he and F.J. Daly led a deputation that met Konneally and offered him new terms: that the strikers return to work on the old pay scale (receiving back pay for the strike period) until Saturday, 10th September. Then, at 11 a.m., a committee made up of Daly, Daly and a Chairman, to be appointed by Dail Eireann, would meet to discuss the full wage claim, including the arrears thereof from 4th February, and to make a binding decision on the matter.

Having heard these terms, the Commissioners discussed them among themselves. They agreed to recommend them to a special meeting of the strikers at 3.00 p.m., with the pilots' leader, Captain D. O'Regan, in the Chair.

Kenneally moved the acceptance of the proposals He praised Daly highly. In what seems to have been a sop to bourgeois opinion, he pointed out that the workers action had shown that they were not "tying up" Cork Harbour.

Day addressed his hearers as " Bolsheviks" but backed Kenneally. He insisted that the proposals did not provide for "arbitration", but for a conference, and that, if this failed to end in the claim being granted, he would move to revive the Soviet. He denounced the lost trade unionism of the clerical staff. Like Kenneally at the press conference, he warned against too much trust in the Republicans; the I.R.A. could be used as a strike-breaking force, in which case, it would have to be opposed.

When O'Regan put the proposals to the meeting, they were carried unanimously.

Day directed the strikers to return to work. He declared that the Red Flag w uld only be lowered by the men who raised it "on Monday (next) when we have our £3/10-" The meeting ended with Kenneally's leading the meeting in *The Red Flag*.

Despite the immediate agreement, the harbour workers refused to resume their jobs the next day until the Harbour Board had ratified it. It did this, despite Sir John Scott's protests against its "pusillanimity" and on Daly's assurance that the Red Flag would be lowered that evening (as it was, at 6.00 p.m.). On hearing the news, and despite the break of Day's promise on the flag, the Board's' employees returned to work, except for the shipyard men who resumed the next day.

The following Saturday, 10th September, at 11.30 a.m., the commission met. Its proceedings were nearly stopped prematurely by a letter from J. J. Walsh, one of the T. D.s for Cork City, who denounced the I.T.G.W.U.'s disciplining of 2 scabs as breaking the agreement of the 5th. The union agreed to stop, subject to its members' acceptance of the commission's decision. Talks resumed.

The settlement that was reached included the payment of the 7/6 d per week demanded since 14th February in a lump sum for the increase claimed. For the future, the workers were to receive a rise of £1 per week until a new Commission on the cost of living in Cork is reported. This body's decision would be binding retrospectively to the 10th of September, unless the workers would suffer thereby. In addition a Committee of Enquiry was to be established to look into the working of Cork Harbour.

On 14th September, the Cork Harbour Board ratified the agreement. However, the next day, the Trades Council refused to associate itself with the proposed Cost of Living Commission, on the grounds that its composition gave it a bias in favour of the capitalists.

Even so, the agreement stood effectively for the rest of the year, and the port of Cork remained generally quiet.

The Cork Harbour Soviet itself had not been the most developed form of workers' control in its period. As with all the seizures, until then, it was conceived as a tactic to gain limited ends. And, even as a tactic, its leaders carried it through with excessively outspoken optimism combined with too little caution in securing what they were promised.

But the seizure was important because its leaders' outspokenness gave a specific form to existing signs as to how the Irish struggle might go. Until September, 1921, the Soviet disturbances had been merely signs of permanent revolation; that the Workers' Republic was a real potential in Sinn Fein's Republic. With the post-war economic crisis the actual capitalism in that Party's economic policy became explicit. With the truce, it was more eager than not to formalise its position and to face the British Government as an equal, bourgeois, power. Thus, Marcievicz could threaten the Bruree Soviet with the Volunteers. And, thus, in response to their situation, Day & Kenneally could insist belatedly on their readiness to oppos e the Dail in the workers' interests. On the day after the Cork Harbour Soviet, the *Cork Constitution* produced a first leader that defended the Dail against threats of a Workers' Republic. The British Home Office was impressed similarly.

Such fears were increased, on the 9th September, by the appearance at the Cork and District Trades Union and Labour Council, of J.T. Walton Newbold of the Communist Party of Great Britain. He praised the Irish Soviets to an appreciative audience. This brought forth another anti-Communist leader from the *Cork Constitution*. The *Cork Examiner* was more subtle; anonymous letters appeared in its columns, denouncing Newbold, on the slim ground that he had admitted his inability to pronounce "Bruree".

But the most effective immediate result of the Cork Harbour Soviet was that it ended the Sinn Fein–I.T.G.W.U. alliance that had controlled the Cork Corporation since January, 1920. Day and Kenneally were brought up before Sinn Fein and attacked for their use of the Red Flag (as opposed to the Tricolor). They remained unrepentant and the petty bourgeois wing of the alliance drew away.

It is possible that this was encouraged by personal factors. The Lord Mayor of Cork, Doral O'Callaghan, was not, generally, as sympathetic to Labour as his two predecessors, McCurtain and MacSwiney. The leader of the I.T.G.W.U. on the Corporation, Alderman Tadgh Barry, was at one and the same time a member of Sinn Fein; the very personification of the alliance. But in September,1921, he was interned by the British in Ballykinlar camp, where he would be killed by them in November.

But personal differences could not alter the objective facts. The Soviet was the most obvious division between the trade union and the party. On 7th September, the Sinn Fein dominated Cork County Council voted out a motion binding it to employ only trade union labour. The Cork Trades Council's rejection of the new cost of living commission was the other side of the coin. What the Harbour Soviet did was clarify the divisions between labour and Sinn Fein so that nobody could imagine, now, that there was much basis for unity. Whan O'Callaghan ran for re-election as Lord Mayor of Cork in Janurary,1922, he was opposed by Kenneally on the specific issue of the social outlook.

The mistake of Day and Kenneally was that they did not try to force the pace any further. But it was understandable: they got no guidance from their National Executive.

At least, they had brought matters to a confrontation. Their comrades preferred to allow matters to develop haphazardly and to take each cause of dispute as it arose. Even more, amongst the trade unionists of Cork, there was actually some criticism of the seizure. At the Trades Council meeting of 15th September, a certain delegate Cody, of the Typographical Association, denounced the Soviet, but he was alone.

Outside Cork, there was a rash of strikes over the country, mainly to achieve limited ends within the broad directives of the Labour Party.

On the other hand, as if to emphasise the importance of militant action, all Irish dockers, outside Cork, had their wages reduced by 1/- per week, with the backing of Foran (the President of the I.T.G.W.U.). And, with the exception of those in Dundalk who struck against this, they accepted it.

But, in the midst of unplanned military and timid leadership, one section of the Irish workers could still give their comrades a further lesson in activism. This group was the engineers, whose strike had continued for over a month. How for the events that were now to result from it were the result of conscious planning at national, rather than local, level is uncertain.

Certainly the choice of venue for this Soviet action can be explained both on the gounds of purely local militancy, and on those of a national scheme prepare with the caution normal to the Irish trade union leadership. The foundry at Drogheda had seen better days. At one time it had employed 500; now its staff numbered 40. They were organised in 2 trade unions; the moulders, in the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the unskilled workers in the I.T.G.W.U. The premises themselves were described by the *Freeman's Journal* as "fine and roomy" and the work that was done there had reached a high standard. But plans to expand production had had to be shelved due to the 'Tan War' and to a longer term lack of demand. The foundry was owned by the Drogheda Corporation, which leased them at £12 per annum to the Drogheda Iron Works Company, directed By Telford (the Managing Director) and Burn, of Belfast. The workers here, as elsewhere, had been on strike since the 30th of July.

On 14th September,1921, at 8 a.m., the local branch secretary of the A.E.U. arrived at the foundry. He was followed by 21 skilled men and 7 boys. They announced to the Manager their intentions of taking over the foundry as they could see no reason why the works should not be re-started. They would work the foundry until a settlement was reached, or, if not, then permanently on an expanded basis. There was, after all, great room for development.

A foreman moulder from Dublin was employed for the Soviet to direct the working of the foundry. The furnaces were re-started, moulds were produced in response to orders from Dublin firms. The *Freeman's Journal* report talked of "roaring furnaces" and work apparently "at high pressure".

The takeover was generally supported in Droghada, though, of course, not by the well-to-do. (The *Irish Independent* reported general opposition to it. But it was likely to exaggerate any such tendencies).

On the night of the 14th, the Soviet posted guards on its prize. But reaction was not immediate. It appeared the following afternoon when all were at work. A lorryload of R.I.C. men, under Detective-Inspector Egan arrived at the foundry. They were armed with truncheons, and declared their orders to clear the premises and their own readiness so to do.

Less realistic than their comrades in the south, the workers were taken by surprise. They appealed to a representative of the Foundry Company to ensure their payment for the work that they had achieved. This was refused them. With the threat from the R.I.C. still present, they left quietly. Subsequently, they appealed to the Mayor of Droghada, who agreed to arbitrate on their claim.

The presence of the foreman moulder from Dublin is one piece of evidence that the Soviet was not as spontaneous or as locally-limited as its appearance betokened. Further evidence was the statement of the Soviet's leader at the beginning of the occupation. He announced plans for taking over other industrial concerns in Drogheda and 3 foundries in Dublin.

But the ultimate evidence for there being a rational scheme behind the Drogheda Foundry Soviet is the result of its defeat. Only 2 days afterwards, on 17th September, the Dublin Branch of the A.E.U., with 100 members, accepted the proposed wage reduction. The Irish Engineering Union held out longer. But, by the end of October, most of the engineers had returned to work.

The Drogheda events coincided with a formal political awakening on the part of the leadership of organised labour. It began to hold meetings In its own name, posing as an opposition even to the Republican status quo. Whether this was sincere or whether it was aimed to distract the militancy of its followers is uncertain. In practice, it helped towards the latter.

The first, and most dramatic, of these meetings was held at Bray on Sunday, 18th September. The Red Flag flew and Thomas Fussen (the Secretary of the Dublin Workers' Council) demanded the Workers' Republic, hinting at dire consequences if it were not achieved. However, Johnson urged that they were "not there to incite riotous or vilent action", and insisted on keeping within the limits set by Dail Eireann. Two days later, at Clonmel, Cathal O'Shannon posed the demand of "the land for the people" against that of "the land for the farmers".

Such agitation could not destroy the objective cause of working class militancy. All it could do was keep the workers loyal to leaders who were not really prepared to lead them anywhere. A few militants were moved by Labour's failure to capitalise either on the rational, or on the economic & social struggles that they took over the small Socialist Party and turned it into the Communist Party of Ireland. But they were very much in the minority. Encouraged by its leaders, Irish Labour refused to face the question of state power. As a result, the vacuum was filled by the bourgeoisie. And thus, both the Republican & the Socialist struggles were betrayed.

D.R. O'Connor Lysaght

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In Review

Pyotr Yakir on the fight for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union today

The Chronicle of Current Events. *Issue 19, dated April 30, 1971.*

For three full years now, and going well into the fourth, the most broadly representative publication of the movement for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, the *Chronicle of Current Events*, has continued to come out every second month. The nineteenth issue, dated April 30, 1971, has only now become available to us: unfortunately, clandestine conditions seem to make the four-month delay a not unusual occurrence. The appearance of a twentieth issue, dated June 30, 1971, has also been reported, but we have not yet seen copies of it.

The regularity and continuity of this *samizdat* publication, the continued appearance of oppositional organizations of various hues, the ongoing struggles of oppressed national minorities (a *Chronicle* is now coming out in the Ukraine, and another one dealing solely with the struggle of Soviet Jews for the right to emigrate to Israel—a reaction to the denial of national and cultural rights by the Great Russian Kremlin bureaucracy)—all these are a sure sign that the protest movement in the USSR continues to rise.

The Kremlin bosses and their police apparatus do not feel it is safe now to resort to the kind of mass arrests used under Stalin. Thus they are unable to root out and expunge the movement as a whole. Instead they pick off outstanding individuals and particular groups. Such victimizations, however, tend in turn to arouse further protests, while admittedly having an intimidating effect on weaker or more timid elements around the oppositional movement.

The hardened caste of officials and administrators who have usurped power and privilege in the Soviet workers state are obviously unsure of themselves in the face of the growing politicalization of important sections of the population. They display a peculiar inconsistency, a half-surly hesitancy. It is as though they sense a growing resentment over their bullying tactics but are determined to brazen through nevertheless.

An interesting assessment of the current stage of the movement for socialist democracy is given in the following excerpts from Pyotr Yakir's Open Letter of March 27, 1971, to the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. These excerpts appeared in the listing of "New Samizdat Works" in the recently received issue No. 19 of the *Chronicle*. The translation, by *Intercontinental Press*, has omitted only the last excerpt—a paragraph in which Yakir lists eighteen prominent political prisoners (including many in psychiatric prison-hospitals) and refers to "the many, many others." His own freedom of the moment he describes as a "drop of good fortune" in this sea of unhappy cases.

The reason the KGB has not acted against him in more decisive fashion is, of course, that he is the son of General Ion Yakir, one of the top Red Army generals secretly tried and shot by Stalin on the eve of World War II. Steps against another Yakir in 1971 might revive too many memories of the 1937 purge to be useful to the heirs of Stalin.

. . . In recent years a dangerous tendency has made itself felt in the internal life of our country—toward a revival of Stalinist methods of rule and, in art and literature and in the writing of history and personal memoirs, toward a rehabilitation of Stalin himself, one of the greatest criminals of the twentieth century. It is understandable that such a development suits the revenge-

seeking Stalinists perfectly well. But isn't it also understandable and natural that it arouses the protests of those who warmly welcomed the "liquidation of the consequences of the personality cult"? Isn't the alarm understandable that is felt by the many thousands over whom the shadow of that gloomy and cruel fanatic rears itself once again? Such alarm is felt by a very large part, if not the overwhelming majority, of our creative, scientific, and technical intelligentsia, by thousands of members of national minorities whose rights were trampled upon under Stalin and who still have not had them restored, and by many, many other citizens of the Soviet Union for whom the fate of the nation is not a matter of indifference.

In the second half of the 1960s a flood of letters, appeals, and declarations—individual and collective, on particular questions and on matters in general—poured into the offices of various party and government bodies. The critical content of these documents was in the great majority of cases absolutely loyal. One would naturally have expected that the leadership, which has proclaimed to all the world the complete and total "liquidation of the consequences" [of Stalin's cult], would explain reasonably and politely to its fellow citizens in what respects their criticisms were justified or unjustified.

Why, then, has the reply to criticism been, in the best of cases, silence; and at worst—legal prosecution and extrajudicial repression?

. . . Political prisoners have reappeared in the camps. In psychiatric prison-hospitals once again we find the "mentally incompetent," for whom the chief proof of "being cured" is the abandonment of their beliefs and convictions. Public confessions are once again demanded, and those who refuse to recant (and sometimes even those who do recant) are reduced in rank, or discharged from their work, or expelled from educational institutions.

The selectiveness, the "discrimination" employed, in exercising repression (for one and the same "crime," one person is given a reprimand at work, another is not bothered at all, and a third gets several years in a prison camp) only underscores the arbitrariness and illegality of the repressive measures.

What kind of method is it to reply to criticism with persecution? Whom does it serve? Is this the way to demonstrate your correctness to your fellow citizens and to the world? *Will a monolithic ideological unity in our society really be achieved in this way?* Why, this will only enlarge the number of the discontented, with no regard to *how* that discontent is to express itself.

Samizdat has appeared and stubbornly persists. Is this not a sign that the spiritual needs of the society are not being properly met? And is imprisonment for possession or production of *samizdat* materials really going to quench this intellectual thirst?

Why is it that the Soviet film *Andrei Rublyov* can be shown in France but not in the Soviet Union? Why is it that foreign Communists can read and admire Solzhenitsyn, while in the Soviet Union one can read only vicious articles about him?

. . . Who would think of writing to the UN or appealing to world public opinion if our own leadership had offered convincing answers to serious questions bothering serious people?

One is forced to conclude that *political and philosophical dissent, even if it is loyal, is regarded as a crime in our country, though it is not so stated.*

—FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

Magazines
New French quarterly

Critiques de l'Economie Politique (Critiques of Political Economy), *Editions F. Maspero, 1 Place Paul Painleve, Paris 5, France.*

From Intercontinental Press

French revolutionary Marxism has scored a new success over both Stalinist revisionism and what Marx called the "vulgarity" of bourgeois pseudo-science. A quarterly theoretical magazine devoted to political economy, launched at the end of last year, has moved to the forefront of publications of this kind.

The first issue of *Critiques de l'Economie Politique* (September-December 1970) took up the subject of inflation, the second dealt with the crisis of the international monetary system, and the third with the structure of underdevelopment.

The first two numbers were, of course, of exceptional timeliness. They were greeted not only by specialists in the field but also by hundreds of students, teachers, and workers who have become "sensitized" on economics.

As the reception given to the pocketbook edition of Ernest Mandel's *Marxist Economic Theory* had already shown, a considerable public exists for something better than the drivel put out by the Stalinists on the evildoings of the big monopolies. (The French Communist party has issued two volumes of a "Manual of Political Economy," summarizing in a rather clever way the "best background" articles written by the Stalinist economists in the past period on "state monopoly capitalism.")

The editor of *Critiques de l'Economie Politique* is Jacques Vallier of the University of Nanterre. The editorial board includes various members of the Ligue Communiste (the French section of the Fourth International). It is published by Maspero.

Single copies are listed at 8.70 francs (about $1.57). A one-year subscription can be obtained by sending 34 francs (about $6.12) to Editions F. Maspero, 1 Place Paul Painlevé, Paris 5, France.

—JEAN RAVEL

Trotskyists suffer heavy casualties during Bolivian coup

[The following statement was issued September 26 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International announces that the POR [Partido Obrero Revolucionario—Revolutionary Workers party, the Bolivian section of the Fourth International] suffered several dozen casualties in the struggle against the coup led by General Banzer and against the new military regime. Some fell on the field of battle; others were captured by the repressive forces and are in concentration camps. The repression has also fallen heavily on other organizations operating in the name of the working class. Backed by American imperialism and its agents in other Latin American countries, the "gorillas" in power are preparing to organize the most systematic and savage kind of extermination campaign. The Bolivian proletariat has experienced a long series of barbaric massacres in its history. Once again this threat hangs over its head, and more than ever it deserves international solidarity.

The POR comrades understood perfectly well that a test of strength was inevitable in the near future. Since they took a realistic view of the relationship of forces, in the military field above all, they had no illusions about the outcome. They made a considerable effort to prepare themselves for the coming test, scoring important gains in every arena. But these exertions could not counterbalance the negative weight of the political and military deficiencies which persisted at the mass level as a consequence of the lack of any real strategy for seizing power and waging armed struggle on the part of most of the organizations claiming to be socialist. At best, these organizations did not go beyond a spontanéist concept of insurrection.

Nonetheless, in face of the rightist coup d'etat and the mass mobilization, especially in La Paz and Santa Cruz, our comrades did not hesitate an instant. Their duty was to participate in the struggles with the forces they had at their disposal. And so they marched together with their class brothers, in the front ranks. Tomás Chambi, leader of the Independent Peasant Federation, fell in La Paz, along with about fifteen of his comrades. In Santa Cruz, where the counterrevolutionary assault was particularly fierce, twenty comrades were killed; and wounded or missing POR members have yet to be accounted for. Comrades have been arrested in La Paz, Santa Cruz, and Oruro. They are now being held, along with all the other victims of the repression, in the prisons and concentration camps in the tropical jungle, including the one at Madidi, where conditions are reported to be particularly revolting. Finally, leading comrades who survived and had begun the task of reorganizing the movement barely escaped capture by taking refuge in the embassy of a Latin American country (after being turned back by several other embassies), and are now in exile.

The POR comrades have written us as follows:

Bolivian popular militia fought right-wing coup.

"We are determined to continue our struggle and are in a more promising position than in the past. Our forces have increased in the recent period and new leading cadres have emerged. They are already at work. We are most encouraged by the confidence that vanguard sectors have expressed in us. This does not mean that we do not find ourselves in a difficult position. But revolutionists cannot expect the bourgeoisie to clear the way for them. Now, we must fight and we will fight. We prepared ourselves with such a perspective in mind."

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International pays homage to the hundreds of workers, peasants, and students massacred in the tragic days of August 1971. It pays homage to the Trotskyist militants who fell, in their own words, with their "thoughts on the party and the International." The United Secretariat expresses its fraternal solidarity with all those suffering in the prisons and the concentration camps, who must be snatched from their hangmen by an international campaign against the repression.

Long live the Bolivian working class! Long live the POR! Long live the Fourth International!

Bolivian miners marching on an anti-fascist demonstration. In their hands, sticks of dynamite.

Bolivia, the most politically unstable nation in the world has had 175 revolutions since it won independence in 1825. In that year a dictatorship was established under Bolivar, who granted Catholicism a monopoly position within the state. He was ousted in 1828 by Santa Cruz (1828-39) who had conquered Peru. His protectorship of that country was recognised by Britain, France and the U.S.A. Fearing such a concentration of power, Chile, Brazil, and Argentina attacked and ended the rule of Santa Cruz. For the remainder of the century Bolivia was governed by demagogues who did little to improve her economy. There were some Liberals, Pando (1899-1904) and Montes (1904-09).

In the election of 1951, MNR (Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario) candidates Paz Estenposo and Siles polled 45%. Apprehensive, the army imposed military rule for 11 months. An MNR inspired revolt broke out in April 1952 led by Labour leader Juan Lechin and backed by tin miners and students. Paz seized the reins of government and ruled from 1952-56, and from 1960-64. He granted universal suffrage, (till then only literate males could vote) armed the peasants and nationalised the tin industry. As dictator Paz lost his allies and was ousted by Barrientos, a right-wing militarist whose theory was "They are Communists because of their stomachs, not their heads". Che Guevara led the guerilla struggle against this regime, until he was executed by the army in October 1967.

The Torres regime was the synthesis of fascist revolt and workers counter-revolt in 1970. The right-wing President Ovando fell but the workers did not seize power. The C.P. (pro-Moscow) the POR (Lora) (Trotskyists, split from Fourth International) the MNR and Lechin formed a Comando Politico which handed power to Torres. He assumed power unconditionally. A popular assembly was established in June 1971 to support the Torres Regime against imminent fascist rebellion. The delegates were, 132 (60%) proletarian, 53 middle class, 23 peasant, and 11 for political parties. The reason for the low numerical strength of the peasant delegation was the fact that the Independent Confederation of Bolivian Peasants was not supported by the majority of peasants. The pro-Moscow CP and the POR (Lora) refused to give them delegates on the grounds that they are petty bourgeois. The Assembly consisted of reformist and counter-revolutionary trends. The former was represented by the pro-Moscow CP and the POR (Lora), the latter, who formed the majority. The pro-Moscow CP and the POR (Lora) succeeded in keeping the POR Gonzales (Official Section of the Fourth International) out of the Assembly. The Assembly turned out to be nothing more than a debating chamber and when the fascist coup came, it still had not organised armed militias.

The fascist coup began in Santa Cruz when people involved in the coup were arrested. A protest followed which led to fighting between the left and right. The army in its usual role, came out in favour of the right wing. The workers' demand for arms was refused by Torres. The students and workers proceeded to arm themselves as best they could. Fighting began in La Paz headed by Sanchez on the workers' side, and the Castrillo regiment in favour of the coup. The workers' lack of arms made an easy victory for the regiment. The arrests and tortures began in which 40 revolutionary Trotskyists were massacred. The government of Bolivia is now in the hands of :

1) the peasants who supported Barrientos,
2) the MNR;
3) the Falange, a right-wing party representing the interests of the landowners.

There is only one answer to the situation not only in Bolivia but in the whole of Latin America. In the words of Ernest Mandel "The building of an adequate revolutionary leadership of the proletariat and semi proletariat of town and countryside, is the only way out of the impasse. It is more than ever the central task. The strategy of armed struggle closely linked and increasingly integrated with the mass movement in which a growing penetration must be assured; this is the only way to build this revolutionary party in the present historical context of most of the Latin American countries."

Betty Purcell

Irish Solidarity Demo in Melbourne Australia

»UNEMPLOYMENT«

Under direct British rule Ireland did not develop a stable capitalist economy. The main reason for this was the fact that it suited big British business interests to restrict the growth of industry here and keep Ireland completely dependent on supplying the English market with cheap agricultural products.

Since the foundation of the Irish "Free State", the representatives of big business here, have done their best to make Ireland a happy hunting ground for capitalism. But these efforts were doomed to failure from the very start. Those who suffered from this inevitable failure were, not the international speculators and their Irish lackeys but the Irish working class.

The Free State has had a constant rate of unemployment (5%) since its foundation. Unemployment levels would be far higher but for a constant stream of emigration to England and America.

When the Fianna Fail party under Lemass, officially admitted the failure of Irish home grown capitalists to make a success of capitalism in Ireland and opened the doors to foreign speculators, with bribes of handsome tax concessions and abundant cheap labour, it had some effect. Numerous small factories sprung up. British and American bosses wishing to cash in on the tax concessions and cheap labour, opened subsidiaries here, usually to manufacture small components, to be used in their large plants in the parent country. Light industries do not make for a healthy economy. Heavy industry is an essential ingredient in a stable capitalist economy. The patriotism of Irish bosses obviously did not extend to their pockets, so they refused to invest in new heavy industry here which would have involved a long wait for returns. Instead they invested abroad, in a more secure faster paying schemes receiving £50,000,000 returns per annum. The foreign investors were no more willing to invest in heavy inudstry here.

The advent of foreign investment in light industry in Ireland was during the post-war boom; a boom made possible by mass destruction and the death of millions of workers in a war between different camps of monopoly capitalists. Now the boom is over and capitalism is sliding into another of its inevitable crises, bosses are cutting back on their foreign investments in places like Ireland and consolidating their positions back home. The results of this can be seen in the amount of closures we read about in the papers every day. These speculators came here on the invitations of Fianna Fail, exploited our labour, and reaped the profits. Now when profits are threatened, they close up leaving thousands of Irish workers on the streets.

In Belfast : shipworkers on the dole.

This can be seen in the latest unemployment figures. There are now 4 millions unemployed in America which is the highest since the war. England has now 1 million unemployed again the highest since the war and of course the Irish figures are soaring up again. Latest statistics show that there are nearly 80,000 now on the dole queues and this does not allow for people who have left school and have never found work or housewives who need employment. Allowing for these people the figures would be well over the 100,000 mark. Suffice to point out that these figures amount to a 50% increase in unemployment in Ireland in the last five years. When you add to these figures the 20,000 that are forced to emigrate from Ireland yearly you get some idea of what the unemployment situation amounts to in terms of human suffering.

And what is Fianna Fail doing about this rapidly worsening situation? The same as their partners in crime in all other capitalist countries of course. They viciously attack the living standards of the working class in order to maintain their profit levels and postpone the inevitable death agony of capitalism.

Dublin unemployed, 1953

In America we see the government backing up new anti-working class laws by calling out the National Guard to shoot down strikers during a dispute in the General Electric Company. In England we see the National Productivity Deal and new Trade Union laws. Here in Ireland we see the National Wage "Agreement"; Brennan's plan to take the dole away from all the workers which he only succeeded in taking from rural workers for the summer months (no doubt he will try again and harder this time) and new anti-trade union laws under which it will be almost impossible to start a new trade union. Fianna Fail will be in a far, better position to corrupt the trade union tops who have already sold out the workers by signing the national wage agreement If this law is passed, workers will not be able to leave their union if they become dissatisfied with it like the busmen did when they started the NUB.

Fianna Fail have admitted to 9% inflation last year, the national wage agreement limits wages to 6%. Therefore even those lucky enough, to have a job and to have won a wage rise from the bosses must in fact suffer a 3% drop in their standard of living. There is no need to point out that the unemployed did not get any corresponding increase in their miserable pittance.

What should the unemployed do? In recent years Fianna Fail, secure in the knowledge that the emigration ship skimmed off the most militant section of the unemployed, were able to keep the situation under control. Ireland's present crisis is obviously only part of a serious international crisis. This means that soon there will be no point in emigrating. As we have already seen the usual destinations for the Irish unemployed, themselves have unemployment problems reaching crisis proportions.

The Redundancy Payments Act, a scheme which gives a small lump sum payment to workers made redundant after long services, is an obvious attempt to undermine the militancy of the workers and divide their ranks. Workers should not let this payment, which is only a fraction of the money robbed from them in the form of profits, weaken their determination to fight unemployment.

The unemployed should demand that the Trade Union movement use every weapon within its power to fight for jobs for all. Immediately that would mean a shorter working week for all, but it should not mean a reduction in wages for anybody. The Trade Union leaders must be made to fight to have the £21,000,000 profit which goes to the public companies each year shared out as extra wages. This could pay all the present unemployed more than £40 per week. Workers produce this money, workers should get it. Inevitably, this fight for jobs for all must lead to a fight for workers' control of the factories and all places of work. For only when the people own the means of production will they be used for the needs of the people and not for profit.

If the T.U. tops do not vigorously fight for these demands in the face of the rapidly worsening situation the unemployed themselves must be made ready to form committees to organise the fight themselves in cooperation with the rank and file of the T. U. Movement.

Only when the fight for workers control of the means of production has been fought and won can we advance and leave behind the system which relies on a reserve army of unemployed.

Noel Hill

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